

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

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FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1824

INF AMEMBASSY TEHRAN PRIORITY

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN

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CINCPAC HAWAII

C O N F I D E N T I A L ISLAMABAD 8035

FROM THE AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MASS, IR, PK

SUBJ: ARMS FOR PAKISTAN

REF: TEHRAN 8396

1. I AM IN COMPLETE AGREEMENT WITH LINE TAKEN IN TEHRAN 8396 AND WILL PROCEED ACCORDINGLY WHEN BHUTTO AND AZIZ AHMED ARE AVAILABLE. I HAVE SEVERAL TIMES TALKED TO THEM BOTH ON THIS SUBJECT. BHUTTO SEEMED TO APPRECIATE COMPLETELY THE DELICACIES AND POSSIBLE PITFALLS OF THE THIRD COUNTRY TRANSFER ROUTE, AND I TOLD HIM QUITE FRANKLY IN A MEETING NOT LONG AGO THAT I FELT AZIZ AHMED STILL THOUGHT IN TERMS OF MAKING QUIET ARRANGEMENTS AND DID NOT FULLY ACCEPT MY WARNING AGAINST SUCH ATTEMPTS.

2. I DO SEE MERIT, IN DISCUSSING THIS ISSUE WITH BHUTTO ONCE AGAIN. I WOULD PEG MY APPROACH TO THE LIST THAT GENERAL TOUFANIAN (TEHRAN 8362) RECEIVED AND POINT OUT
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THAT, AS BHUTTO KNOWS, ANY SUCH TRANSFER OF US

EQUIPMENT NEEDS PRIOR USG APPROVAL. OUR NASCENT MILITARY SUPPLY RELATIONSHIP IS STILL BEING REGULARIZED AND ANY REQUESTS TO THIRD COUNTRIES WITHOUT OUR PRIOR KNOWLEDGE SERVE TO CONFUSE AN ALREADY COMPLEX SUBJECT. I PLAN TO EMPHASIZE TO HIM THE POSITIVE VIEW THAT REGULAR AND SYSTEMATIC CLOSE CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN THE EMBASSY AND THE GOP ARE NOT ONLY IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF ALL CONCERNED, BUT WILL ALSO HELP TO REDUCE DELAYS IN PROCESSING REQUESTS (A MATTER OF INCREASING IMPORTANCE TO GOP) AND AVOID POSSIBLE EMBARRASMENTS.

3. I WILL CITE THE SHOPPING LIST PASSED TO GENERAL TOUFANIAN BY GOP AS A GOOD EXAMPLE OF WHAT WE SHOULD TRY TO AVOID. ALTHOUGH WE ARE CERTAINLY SYMPATHETIC TO PAKISTANI ATTEMPTS TO MEET ITS LEGITIMATE DEFENSE NEEDS, ANY REQUEST WHICH WILL EVENTUALLY NEED OUR APPROVAL--SUCH AS ITEMS DESIRED FROM IRAN--COULD BE HANDLED MORE EXPEDITIOUSLY IF FIRST DISCUSSED WITH US. DEPARTMENT SHOULD BE AWARE (ODRP 101015Z AUG 75) THAT WE HAVE RECEIVED SIMILAR LIST FROM GOP, AND I AGREE COMPLETELY WITH TOUFANIAN'S OBSERVATION THAT APPARENTLY THE LIST HAD BEEN DRAFTED BY SOMEONE WHO WAS NOT AN EXPERT ON MILITARY HARDWARE. IN THIS CONNECTION, WE HAVE ASKED FOR SOME CLARIFICATIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN PROMISED PROMPTLY BY GOP MILITARY AND WILL FORWARD LIST TO THE DEPARTMENT WITH OUR COMMENTS AS SOON AS CLARIFICATIONS RECEIVED.

4. HAVING SAID THE ABOVE, I THINK I SHOULD POINT OUT THAT THE PAKS HAVE LONG FELT THEIR CASE FOR OBTAINING FINANCIAL HELP FROM FRIENDS SUCH AS IRAN, SAUDI ARABIA, ETC, WAS WEAK AS LONG AS THEY HAD TO TALK IN GENERALITIES. THEY HAVE FELT THAT, IF THEY COULD PRESENT THEM WITH A CONCRETE LIST OF REQUIREMENTS WHICH COULD LARGELY BE MET BY PURCHASE FROM THE US TELL THEM THAT POLICY-WISE THE US WAS WILLING TO SELL THE ITEMS TO PAKISTAN IF PAKISTAN HAD THE FUNDS, THEIR CHANCES OF SUCCESS WOULD BE FAR BETTER. I
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BELIEVE THEREFORE THAT GIVING THE LIST TO IRAN WAS LARGELY AN EFFORT TO OBTAIN FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE. THEY WOULD APPARENTLY LIKE ON LOAN AND SOME FEW ITEMS THAT COULD ONLY BE FURNISHED BY EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. THE FACT THAT THE LATTER HAVE BEEN ADDED REINFORCES THE VIEW THAT THIS IS AN EXERCISE PRIMARILY CONNECTED WITH FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE (I WOULD NOT BE SURPRISED THEREFORE THAT BHUTTO AND AZIZ AHMED WILL PRESENT THE

SAME LIST ON THEIR IMMINENT TRIP TO SAUDI ARABIA).

5. I HAVE JUST TALKED TO IRANIAN AMBASSADOR ZELLI, WHICH FURTHER REINFORCES THE ABOVE VIEWS. HE WAS TOLD BY AZIZ AHMED THAT THE LIST WAS SIMILAR TO THAT WHICH HE HAD GIVEN ME EARLIER ON. AZIZ AHMED HAD MENTIONED THE FACT THAT ANY TRANSFER OF US EQUIPMENT FROM IRAN WOULD REQUIRE OUR APPROVAL, AND HE THEREFORE ANTICIPATED THAT THE IRANIANS WOULD TALK TO US ABOUT THE MATTER AT TEHRAN. WHILE ALL OF THIS LEAVES US WITH A COORDINATION PROBLEM, IT SHOULD BE MANAGEABLE IN THE END EVEN THOUGH IT LEADS TO CONFUSION AT THE MOMENT.

6. WE SHOULD NOT LET IRRITATION ON MATTERS OF COORDINATION OBSCURE ONE IMPORTANT FACT. THE PAKS HAVE NOT INCLUDED IN THEIR LIST SOME GREATLY DESIRED ITEMS, SUCH AS FIGHTER AIRCRAFT, FOR THICH THEY THINK THEIR NEED IS REAL AND URGENT. THEY HAVE DONE THIS IN AN EFFORT TO MEET OUR CONDITIONS, AND NOT PLACE DEMANDS UPON US WHICH WOULD BE EMBARRASSING TO US AND PERHAPS CAUSE US PROBLEMS WITH OUR CONGRESS. IN OTHER WORDS, WHILE INEPT IN SOME OF THEIR PROCEDURES, BY AND LARGE THEY ARE TRYING TO FOLLOW THE GUIDELINES WE HAVE SET.

7. I BELIEVE I CAN HANDLE QUESTION OF THIRD COUNTRY TRANSFERS WITH BHUTTO AND AZIZ AHMED TAKING LINE NOTED EARLIER ON IN THIS MESSAGE. SINCE THE DESIRABILITY OF SUCH A COURSE OF ACTION IS EVIDENT, I DO NOT FEEL ANY QUIDANCE FROM THE DEPARTMENT ON HOW TO HANDLE THE DISCUSSION WITH BHUTTO IS NOW NECESSARY. THERE WILL BE SOME DELAY IN SEEING HIM BECAUSE OF HIS FORTHCOMING TRAVELS ABROADE--FROM WHICH HE WILL
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PROBABLY RETURN MID-SEPTEMBER--BUT I WILL INFORM DEPARTMENT AND TEHRAN OF RESULTS OF OUR DISCUSSION AS SOON AS IT TAKES PLACE.
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